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VII — *The Linguistic and Ethnographic Status of the Burgundians*

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MOST scholars still believe that the ancient letters known as runes were once the common possession of the whole Germanic race, and think of them as having gradually spread¹ northward thru the territory of the West-Germanic tribes. As a matter of fact, runic inscriptions are found in considerable numbers only in the territories of the Scandinavians and the English. It is, however, established that the Goths and the Frisians also used runes. The rest of the Germanic territory, that is, the West-Germanic territory lying south of the old continental homes of the English and the Frisians, has furnished us but few rune-bearing objects, and the attempts that have been made to read West Germanic on them have been anything but successful.²

Long study of the subject had convinced me³ that the runes are a variety of Western-Greek letters, which find their nearest kin in the East-Italic letters⁴ and the letters used by the Veneti⁵ at the head of the Adriatic, and that they were brought to the extreme North in the middle of the first millennium before Christ in connection with the amber trade, which established direct relations between the head of the Adriatic and the North Sea.⁶ In early times it was the west coast of Denmark (not the eastern shores of the Baltic) that

¹ Wherein the spelling employed in this paper is unusual, it is in accord with the recommendations of the Simplified Spelling Board; in a few cases only have I carried the simplification farther.

² Cf. especially Henning: *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler*, and Wimmer: *Les Monuments Runiques de l'Allemagne*.

³ *JGP.* II, 370 etc., IV, 70.

⁴ Zvetaieff: *IIMD.*, plates I, II.

⁵ Pauli: *Altitalische Forschungen*, III.

⁶ Montelius: *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 123; Müller: *Nordische Altertumskunde*, I, 322, *Urgeschichte Europas*, 127.

furnisht the great supply of amber,¹ and it was the Veneti who had control of the amber trade in the South.² This trade brought to western Denmark³ welth and a civilization known nowhere els in northern Europe.⁴ From the Cimbric peninsula this civilization spred in time to the Danish ilands and the Scandinavian peninsula, carrying with it that greatest element of civilization, the art of writing. Much later, when the Jutes and Angles migrated to Britain, they took their runes along with them; and their Scandinavian successors in Denmark brought theirs from Sweden. But there is nothing to show that the general use of runic writing extended south of the territory of the Frisians and the old seats of the Angles. Indeed, as was long ago pointed out by Stephens and Taylor, we even lack evidence that the runes were employd by the Saxons who joind the Angles and the Jutes in the settlement of Britain; for the English rune-bearers come almost exclusivly from the territory originally settled by Angles and Jutes. The pronounced failure to read West Germanic on the few rune-bearers found in Germany certainly fits in perfectly with this.

Nevertheless it would not do to ignore these continental inscriptions, or to try to dispose of the problem by simply denominating the objects all "wanderers," as Stephens did, meaning objects made and engraved in the North, but carrid to the South. And so I felt it incumbent upon me to try to explain them. They fall into two classes. To the first belong a spearhed, a gold ring, a die, and several gold bracteates,⁵ found in northern Germany at different points not far from the Baltic. As I shall show in forthcoming papers, all these are Scandinavian in workmanship and speech. That is, they really are wanderers, which have made their way across the border into the adjacent territory.

¹ Olshausen: *Z. f. Ethnol.* xxii, 287; Montelius: *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 123; Müller: *Nordische Altertumskunde*, I, 326.

² Pliny, xxxvii, 3 (43).

³ Müller: *NA.* I, 322-323.

⁴ Müller: *NA.* I, 316, 321 below, 322, etc.

⁵ These are ornaments resembling gold coins and having a small loop by which they were suspended about the necks of children. At an other time I intend to prove that the bracteate is a northern form of the southern bulla.

As such they may be dismissed from present consideration. The remaining objects, which concern us, consist of a dozen fibulas, or brooches, found at various places in western Hungary, southern Germany, and eastern France. Between them and the few Scandinavian intruders in the extreme North lies nearly the whole of Germany with not a single runic find.

Considering the fact that Gothic rune-bearers have been found along the southward march of the Goths, far from their original seats, it occurred to me that the other southern runic inscriptions might belong not to the original West-Germanic occupants of southern Germany, but to one of the northern tribes that came down among them at the time of the great migrations. This supposition was strengthened by the fact that the fibulas in question show a remarkable resemblance in form and ornament, reflecting northern traditions, while the runes employed have certain peculiarities in common, betraying Anglo-Frisian affinities, for example, the old Greek doubly belted H . In order to test the hypothesis, I mapped out the places where the finds were made. Drawing a line through these, I observed that it coincided with the route taken by the Burgundians in their successive migrations from near the Baltic into France, graphically shown by Erckert.¹

We first come upon the Burgundians settled, roughly speaking, in what is now Posen and eastern Brandenburg, with the Goths and the Vandals to the east and the south of them. By the third century of our era, the Burgundians had migrated to the middle Danube, the country around Vienna. Toward the end of the century they ascended the stream and settled in the territory northwest of a line drawn through Augsburg and Regensburg, that is, Upper Franconia. At the opening of the fifth century they passed down the Main and established the famous but short-lived kingdom that had Worms as its capital, coinciding with Rhenish Franconia. After the destruction of Worms by the Huns in 437, some of the Burgundians remained, and were gradually absorbed by their

¹ *Wanderungen und Siedelungen der germanischen Stämme*, plate VII.

West-Germanic neighbors; but portions of the tribe past west and south into France, where they gradually gave up their Germanic speech, and, as the nucleus of successive Burgundian realms, played an important part in the history of Europe.¹

The objects upon which the runes are inscribed were found in what are known as *Reihengräber*, in the following localities: (1) Bezenye, near Pressburg, east of Vienna; (2) Nordendorf, north of Augsburg; an ancient cemetery northeast of Gmünd; Balingen, near Hohenzollern; (3) Osthofen, north of Worms; Freilaubersheim, between Osthofen and Kreuznach; Friedberg, north of Frankfurt; Ems, east of Coblenz; Engers, north of Coblenz; and (4) Charnay, in Burgundy.

The fibula found in Burgundy has generally been supposed to be of Burgundian origin, but has defied interpretation. Considering the geographical position of the other finds and the various evidences they betray of common origin, I came to the conclusion that the inscriptions were probably all Burgundian, and were deposited in the graves, in which they were later discovered, when the Burgundians dwelt in these four localities.² The theory appeared to me and the scholars to whom I confided it to deserve consideration, and I resolved, as soon as I should have time to do so, to go at the study of the language of the inscriptions, unbiased as to its character, simply permitting it to unfold itself. That was some six years ago, but it was not until last spring that I found leisure to take the matter up again. It then turned out that the evidence corroborated the theory. While the inscriptions could not be successfully read as West Germanic, that idea once abandoned, it was comparatively easy to decipher those that were

¹ These various settlements are clearly shown on Erckert's plates v, viii, ix, x.

² This fits exactly and makes more specific the results of Salin's recent study of the fibulas from the point of view of form and ornament. For he decides that they betray northern influence, and comes to the conclusion that the same movement that introduced northern craftsmanship into southern Germany also introduced the runes into these parts. Here Salin has reference, however, to the first introduction of letters. Bernhard Salin: *Die altgermanische Tierornamentik*, 1904.

not severely mutilated. The trouble had been, not with the inscriptions, but with the interpreters, who did not permit them to speak for themselves and reveal their identity, but, having decided *a priori* that (with the exception of the Charnay fibula) they must be written in some West-Germanic dialect, tried to force them into that mold. The form *Bōso* on the Freilaubersheim fibula appeared to justify this course. It was so distinctly West Germanic, that it seemed it could be nothing else, tho the prominence of the name Boso in the history of Burgundy should not have been overlooked. From the start, the form was allowed to play too important a part in the thoughts of scholars, and a deaf ear was turned to the clear and unmistakably Northern speech of the larger Nordendorf fibula. The language in which the inscriptions are written is perfectly consistent with itself. And it is Germanic. But not any one of the Germanic languages thus far known. For Burgundian has hitherto been practically an unknown tongue. Such notions¹ as we have had of it were vague and very uncertain, being based only on what could be inferred from Burgundian proper names, which have come down to us in doubtful and misleading spelling, always open to the suspicion of Latin, Gothic, or German influence.² But now we have a number of brief inscriptions giving real sentences. From these it is possible to get such a picture of Burgundian speech as enables one to understand clearly its relation to other Germanic languages. The first announcement of the results of this study was made in the New-York *Nation* of April 23, 1908. In the present paper I submit to Germanic scholars the interpretation of two inscriptions which are of prime importance in determining the linguistic and hence the ethnographic status of the Burgundians; namely, the one on the smaller Nordendorf fibula and the one on the Balingen fibula. I could accomplish the same purpose by means of the two Nordendorf fibulas, but

¹ Wackernagel: "Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Burgunden," in *Kleinere Schriften*, III, 334 etc., also in Binding's *Geschichte des burgundisch-romanischen Königreichs*, 329 etc. Kögel: *ZfdA.* xxxvii, 223 etc.

² Bremer, Paul's *Grundriss* III, 822.

choose the Balingen fibula for the reason that I shall give later.¹

THE SMALLER NORDENDORF FIBULA

For details as to this Nordendorf fibula it will be best to refer the reader to Henning.² On page 107 he says:—

“Ihrem Schriftcharacter nach unterscheiden sich die Runen von denen der meisten übrigen Inschriften dadurch, dass sie feiner und oberflächlicher eingeritzt sind, als wie es sonst der Fall zu sein pflegt. Doch deuten die sicheren Strichzüge keineswegs auf eine ungeübte Hand. Ausserdem wird die Leserlichkeit des Anfanges etwas durch die vielen Schrammen behindert, welche die Runen durchziehen. . . . So ist das Bild, welches die Inschrift auf den ersten Blick erweckt, etwas verwirrend, aber eine wirkliche Unsicherheit bleibt nirgend bestehen. Die Runen lassen sich einzig und allein als

BIRNIMY

entziffern, wie auch die früheren Herausgeber übereinstimmend angenommen haben.”

There are several considerations that make us hesitate to acknowledge this supposed certainty. In the first place, tho Henning and his predecessors agreed as to the form of these letters, they were unable to agree as to what the supposed final letter might be, and no one of them was able so to interpret the legend as a whole as to satisfy anyone els. In the second place, later scholars, for example Bugge, have not always agreed with the earlier judgment. In the third place, anyone who will carefully examin for himself Henning's lithografic reproduction (plate III, fig. 8) will see that it does not enable one so redily to distinguish the true strokes (which

¹ The larger Nordendorf inscription and the other Burgundian inscriptions I shall publish shortly in various filological journals. As all these first publications are preliminary to the final edition, which I expect to publish, with fotografic facsimiles, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution, I shall be thankful for criticisms from other scholars and particularly for copies of such reviews as may appear of the preliminary publications.

² Page 106, etc., and plate III, figure 8.

he correctly calls fine and slight) from the various accidental scratches that cross them. The fourth rune, for example, might be 𐌱 or 𐌲 or 𐌳 or 𐌴 or 𐌵. At first sight it looks most like an 𐌱, and this it has generally been taken to be, tho we thus get the unmanageable glut of liquids *rlm*. On closer examination it appears to be a 𐌴 with the shaft abnormally extended downwards. Still more careful scrutiny, however, reveals the fact that the two parallel lines slanting upward from the shaft are not made perfectly straight, nor with that practist deftness which, as Henning points out, characterizes most of the strokes. On the other hand, both parallel lines that slant down from the shaft are straight and clear, tho the lower one is fainter than the upper one. The latter extends a bit too far over the shaft and the former appears to do the same — a phenomenon common to this and most Burgundian inscriptions. I therefore read the rune as 𐌴*a*; compare the two *a*'s on the Balingen fibula (1 and 9, page 115 below). The last letter of our inscription, whether explained as an *n*,¹ a *k*,² an *ŋg*,³ or an *s*,⁴ is equally hopeless. The character must be defectiv. It is obvious (see Henning's plate) that nothing is wanting below. It is equally clear that the upper part of the letter has suffered some mutilation. Two possibilities suggest themselves: the letter might originally have been 𐌲 *w* or 𐌶 *f*. That it was the latter is made probable by the fact that the oblique stroke reaches clear up to the line of the tops of the runes. This is not a case in which the engraver permitted his burin to run on until it left the plate with a faint finish somewhere beyond where it should have stopt. For the stroke is deeply cut thruout and ends abruptly on a line with the tops of the other letters. That is, we have to deal with 𐌶, not with a 𐌵. Moreover, there is, even on Henning's lithografic reproduction, a faint trace of the upper oblique line of an 𐌶, beginning above the angle and running nearly parallel with the distinct lower oblique line.⁵

¹ Wimmer: *Die Runenschrift*, 107.

² Henning and Bugge.

³ Wimmer: *Les Monuments Runiques*, 297.

⁴ Stephens.

⁵ It is interesting to observ that exactly the same development took place in

The legend is, then : —



biranio elf

This *biran(n)io* is the first person singular of the *jan*-factitiv of the compound verb **bi-riana* = Gothic *bi-rinnan*,¹ cf. Gothic *urranjan* < *ur-rinnan*. In this the *bi-riana*, *bi-* has the force of 'by,' 'past,' 'vorbei,' 'vorüber,' (Wilmanns: *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, § 103 *b*); hence the primary compound verb means 'to run by,' 'to run away,' and the factitiv derivativ *birannia* means 'to cause to run away,' 'to drive off,' 'vertreiben.'²

The second word, *elf*, is the accusativ singular of the word that appears in Old English as *ælf*, in Old Norse as *ālf-r*, and in High German as *alp*, with the meanings 'elf,' 'spook,' 'nightmare.'

the gradual recognition of the *f*-rune on the Charnay fibula. Baudot gave it as *ƿ* on both his reproductions, and this was copied by Dietrich and Stephens. When later Beauvois (together with Baudot) carefully examined the fibula for Wimmer, he reported it as *ƿ*, which Wimmer then adopted. Henning (page 54) adds: "Auf dem Original ist der obere Seitenstrich indess nicht annähernd so deutlich wie auf der Abbildung von W[immer], im Gegentheil kostet es eine gewisse Anstrengung, um ihn überhaupt zu erfassen und von den in unmittelbarer Nähe befindlichen Zufälligkeiten, vor Allem einer mit demselben sich ganz nahe berührenden Schrunde zu unterscheiden. Trotzdem glaube auch ich die, man muss fast schon sagen, einstige Existenz des oberen Seitenstriches vertreten zu dürfen, wenn auch der ganze Lauf desselben nur bei besonders günstigem Lichte in einem zusammenhängenden Schimmer erkennbar wird." All of which might be repeated verbatim of our *f*. In the cut above, the disputed lines in both *f* and *a* are far too thick and distinct.

¹ In Burgundian, *inn* becomes *ian* (that is, *in*, with *ɨ* probably nasalized): *hianr* and *hiano* (Charnay) = ON. *kvinnr* and *linne*. Compare the West-Germanic change *iww* > *iuw*.

² Cf. the Gothic verbs *bi-pragjan*, *bi-sniwan*, *bi-leipan*, *bi-wandjan*, cited by Wilmanns. The recorded instances of Gothic *bi-rinnan* show the two other meanings of *bi-*. Thus (1) in *bi-rinnan* 'umdrängen,' 'umgeben,' we have *bi-* '(her)um' (Wilmanns, II, § 103, 1), and (2) in *bi-rinnan* 'durchlaufen,' the *bi-* reflects the notion of the traversing of a region, or the covering of a surface (Wilmanns, II, § 103, 2). Similarly with OHG. *bi-rinnan*, MHG. *be-rinnen*, and OE. *bi-rinnan*.

The translated legend, then, reads:—

Biran(n)io elf
 ‘Ich vertreibe den Alp’
 ‘I drive away the nightmare’

In other words, the pin was a charm. Pieces of jewelry frequently served as talismans. Nearly all the golden bracteates are charms to bring good luck or to ward off evil, and bracteate 59 is a charm against the nightmare.¹ As I shall show in an other paper this afternoon, the Fonnås fibula, like some of the bracteates, is a charm against a whole series of evils.

Our present fibula is of importance for two reasons. In the first place, it shows us that Burgundian shares with Anglo-Frisian the peculiar tendency to front *a* to *æ* or *e*. The Burgundian inscriptions furnish numerous evidences of the close relation of Burgundian to Anglo-Frisian, but the change of *a* to *e* is the clearest and most conclusiv, hence the most important. But the fibula also throws new light on the history of the German language. It contains a word in a use peculiar to Midland German. I refer to the word *alp* in the sense of ‘alpdrücken,’ which entered the written language from the Midland dialects (Franconian, Hessian, Thuringian, Saxon).² Some time I shall show that other linguistic phenomena peculiar to Midland German are traceable to Burgundian origin. In other words, the Burgundians that merged with their West-Germanic neighbors did not do so without leaving some impress upon the resultant speech (Rhenish and Upper Franconian), which later spread north-east when the Germans crowded upon the Slavs.

THE BALINGEN FIBULA

It is fortunate that we have not only Burgundian inscriptions but also a nearly complete Burgundian alphabet and

¹ It contains the two words *lūr-wæ* ‘slumber-wo’ and *dot-maRa* ‘sleep-mare.’ Some of the Norse charms contain a verb like ‘I overcome’ or ‘I destroy’ before the word for the evil or evils; but most of them simply name what is to be counteracted.

² Cf. Kluge under *alp*; also Paul’s *Grundriss*, III, 268, 286.

that it is found on a piece whose Burgundian extraction no one can deny, namely, on the Charnay fibula.¹ No other Burgundian piece furnishes as good illustrations of these runes as does the Balingen fibula, with its fifteen runes, only two of which are repeated. Besides the doubly belted *h*, which we now have on several Burgundian pieces, we find here also the primitiv ✱ *z*, *κ*, from² Greek ± *z* (*JGP.* II, 373). The four-stroke ⚡ *s* we have twice on one of the Bezenye fibulas. There is nothing about the fibula or the other finds made at Balingen³ or the graves themselves that should lead us to keep them separate from the other Burgundian remains. Their being found at Balingen simply proves that the Burgundian settlements belonging to what I have above designated as the second group extended a little farther down the west side of the Rauhe Alp than has been supposed.⁴ I have selected this fibula to-day for two reasons. In the first place, it furnishes two of the most striking illustrations of the kinship of Burgundian to another branch of Germanic speech. In the second place, it is an excellent example of the class of inscriptions that I shall deal with in my second paper.⁵

¹ Wimmer: *Die Runenschrift*, 79 and plate III; Henning: *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler*, 47 and plate II; Bugge: *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, 9.

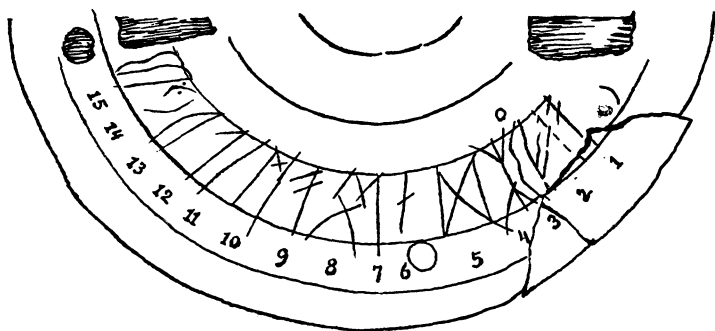
² That is, the horizontal lines are broken, as lines cut with the grain of the bark or wood are inclined to close up and so are not easily made out. Thus runic ↑ *t* is from Greek T *t*, and in the same way the Burgundian ⚡ *p* is from an inverted Greek Π *p*, like East-Italic L *p* (Zvetaieff: *IIMD.* plate I, I, II, I).

³ Ludwig Mayer: *Katalog der K. Staatssammlung vaterländischer Kunst- und Alterthumsdenkmale*, I. Abtheilung, *Die Reihengräberfunde*, 1883, pp. xvi, 118.

⁴ See Erckert, plate VIII.

⁵ As the paper referred to is to be published elsewhere, I should here explain that in it I showed that most of the runic inscriptions that have hitherto baffled Germanic scholars are written in that sort of partially syllabic writing that we find in Venetic, Sanskrit, and some other ancient scripts. That is, the vowel *a* is not written after a consonant, being a part of the fonetic name of that letter. A few texts show a virama, but in the great majority it is not employed. On the Fonnas fibula it appears as a little wiggle. This has hitherto generally been supposed to be an *s*, but in reality corresponds to the little upright stroke often found in Venetic. On the Konghell club the virama has a form not very different from that of the one employed in Sanskrit.

I know no published reproduction¹ of the runic side of the Balingen fibula which does justice to the legend. But a careful scrutiny of a good photograph² with the aid of a magnifying glass reveals the whole. It runs from right to left as follows:³—



¹ Naue-Söderberg, *Prähistorische Blätter*, II, No. 3. Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, IV, 64. Grienberger, *ZfdP.* XL, 257.

² Grienberger secured several of these, and he had the courtesy to send me one unsolicited.

³ In this reproduction I have indicated nothing that I have not myself made out in the photograph. But in reproducing in this way, I find it impossible to show the lines as faint or as straight and clear cut as they should be, and consequently several appear here much more distinct than in the original. The jog in one shaft of (10) and the wavers in (2) are in the original. The cut will serve to give the reader a good idea of the letters and their form; it will also aid anyone who has a photograph to trace the various obscure lines for himself.

Because of the extreme care with which Grienberger studied the original as well as several photographs, and the pains he took to record his observations, it will be necessary for me to explain how my results differ from his. Stephens also studied the legend very conscientiously, and in the case of (2) was more nearly successful than Grienberger. I agree with the latter as to all the letters except 2, 3, 11, 14, 15. Grienberger saw (3) and described it perfectly, but he did not recognize what it was. Stephens's reproduction of this letter is inexact in not showing the medial obtuse angle. Of (2) Grienberger saw the second shaft and the lower part of the upper oblique line, and he refers to the space occupied by the rest of the letter, but says he could make out nothing there. Stephens saw practically the whole of the letter and reproduced it pretty well, but he misconstrued it. As to (11) I leave it to the reader to determine whether we have to deal with an *z*, as most scholars believe, or whether it was intended to be a part of an *u* made into a ligature with the preceding *m*, as Grienberger thinks. Compare the *u* of the next syllable for the scribe's way of making that letter. Of (14) and (15) Grienberger recognizes only the upper angle of *ng*. This is abnormally deeply cut and consequently stands out in decided contrast to the neighboring

Reversing the direction of the writing and supplying the understood *a* (here printed in Roman type), we get:—

āh sar ḑā nālō amilungr

which in Old Norse would be:—

ā s(ē)r ḑā nāl amilungr

‘Amilung owns this pin.’

The construction *āh sar*¹ or *ā s(ē)r* is peculiar to Norse and Burgundian. So, too, is the loss of *ḑ* in *nālō* (ON. *nāl*, Gothic *nēpla*, OE. *nēðl*, Eng. *needle*, Ger. *nadel*), Noreen, § 228.

This one brief legend, then, furnishes us with two striking proofs, one syntactical and the other fonological, of the close kinship of Burgundian and Norse. The other Burgundian inscriptions, particularly the one on the larger Nordendorf fibula, furnish numerous others.

strokes, which have been much worn because they stand where the tung of the pin could play. Of (15) Grienberger saw the erect shaft, but supposed it to be a part of the broad groove in the metal above, tho it is very different from that, having a narrow channel sharply and clearly cut. The legend runs between the arcs of two of the five nearly concentric circles with which the engraver ornamented the back of the pin. These arcs are joind at the ends of the inscription by a sort of {, intact at the left, only partially visible at the right. Söderberg saw the one at the left and the shaft of the *r* (but not the intervening slightly curvd back of the *r*) and took them for an *e*. I should add as to (1) that while Grienberger agrees with his predecessors in recognizing an *a*, he does not see the dark staff that Stephens saw and I see, but takes a series of light spots farther to the right to be the staff. The oblique lines do not simply run up to the staff but cross it as in (9).

In Venetic (Pauli: *Altitalische Forschungen*, III.) the virama consists of one or, more often, two dots or vertical strokes, on one or both sides of the consonant that is followed by no vowel. If employd in this inscription, we should expect it at (2), (4), and (14); similar dots do appear in the case of (14), but I can not be sure in the case of (2) and (4), and as there are dots at other places I must leave the question open.

¹ One might ask whether we should not rather read *āh-sR*, with lost vowel in the enclitic pronoun, as in Old Norse *-sr* for *šēr*. This is possible, provided we assume that the weak *a* (= *ə*) had but recently dropt out, and the *R* had not yet had time to change to *r*. For final *R*, which did not become *r* until 900 in Primitiv Norse, and then only after dentals (Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, 297), appears to have erly become *r* in Burgundian after consonants generally, cf. *Amilungr* as well as *hianr* (Charnay) = ON. *kvinnr*.

Our study of these two inscriptions has established Burgundian as the link between Norse and Anglo-Frisian. While, as has been said, the remaining inscriptions prove the same in other ways, this can be shown to better advantage in connection with the interpretation of the various inscriptions. I can not, however, refrain from calling attention to a piece of evidence that is drawn in part from the Balingen fibula. In *āh* from older *aih*, we have a change of *ai* to *ā* before *h* which is common to Norse, Burgundian, and English. But while English permits the gradual absorption of the second element of the diphthong (*ai* > *ae* > *aə* > *ā*) not only before *h* but everywhere, for example, in cases like *wrait* > *wrāt*, Burgundian here shows only the first stage of the change,¹ namely, *wrait* > *wraet* (Freilaubersheim fibula), while Norse permitted an entirely different development of the diphthong in such cases, whereby the second element, instead of being subordinated, itself exerted an influence over the first element and mutated it, thus PN. *w(a)rait* (Istaby) > ON. *reit*. That is, Burgundian again occupies an intermediate position.²

OLD ENGLISH	BURGUNDIAN	OLD NORSE
<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>ae</i>	<i>ei</i>

We know that the Burgundians were regarded as closely akin to the Vandals and the Goths. We have therefore classed them all as East Germanic, though we have known the language of the Goths only. It is now clear that this grouping must be abandoned. Burgundian does show resemblance to Gothic, for example, in the inflection of the verb, as seen on the Charnay fibula and other pieces; but this resemblance is due to the fact that both are very old, and I shall show at another time that these peculiarities are shared also by Primitive Norse. But the resemblance of Burgundian to Norse

¹ The preservation of *ai* in the verbal suffix (Charnay) is involved with the matter of the character of the accent.

² Old Frisian (with *ā* in *āch* = B. *āh*, and *ē* in words like B. *wraet*) occupies still a different position; but as we do not yet understand the fortunes of G^o. *ai* in Old Frisian, consideration of this phase of the matter is better postponed.

on the one hand and to Anglo-Frisian on the other is so pronounced and so far reaching that it leaves us no alternative. We must recast our classification of Germanic dialects. Until we get further light, it must be in some such form as this:—

	Norse	
Burgundian		Gothic
Anglo-Frisian		
German		

These facts are best understood if we suppose that the Burgundians, who are reputed to have come to Germany from the island of Bornholm, lying between Sweden and Germany, at one time lived still nearer the Anglo-Frisians, for example, on one or more of the other Danish islands, or in Jutland itself. This conclusion, to which I came last spring, is rendered practically a certainty by an observation that I have since made, namely, that the amulet dug up at Maglekilde on Sealand¹ contains a Burgundian inscription written syllabically in primitive runes.²

Permit me to add a word or two as to chronology. Taking as a basis of judgment the character of the other objects found in the graves, it has been customary to date the finds too late. For example, those made at Nordendorf, north of Augsburg, are classed as Merovingian, and so put down as of the sixth to the eighth century, and this in the face of the fact that the latest coins unearthed are those of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, who died in 375, 378, 383 respectively. While it is true that we must be cautious in using coins as the basis of a latest date, there is here no reason to ignore a remarkable agreement between archeological and historical evidence. That no Roman coins of later date are found is explained by the fact that the Burgundians, under the leadership of King

¹ Stephens: *ONRM*. 1, 864, *Handbook*, 107.

² This I shall show in detail on another occasion. I may, however, remark in passing that in 1902 (*JGP*. IV, 72) I explained the rune ∇ *h*, *h*, as a simplification of Φ , a common early form of Φ , reflected also in the Gothic letter Θ *h*. Since that time I have found the primitive runic forms ∇ and Φ not only on the Maglekilde amulet but also on several other pieces.

Gundikar, left this district a few years later, namely, about 410. It is therefore clear that there is an error of some magnitude in the dating of archeological finds of the character involvd, which will be corrected now that we know that those made at Nordendorf can not be later than the very beginning of the fifth century. It is not improbable that the Burgundians were the very agents that introduced into western Europe some of those elements that we later recognize under the name of Merovingian. The Burgundian inscriptions also throw light on other matters, for example, on Germanic mythology. But it will be best to consider these questions in connection with the inscriptions involvd.